

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 SALT T 00135 031936 Z

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CCO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00

INRE-00 /026 W

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FM USDEL SALT TWO II

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1913

S E C R E T USDEL SALT TWO II 0135

EXDIS SALT

DOD HANDLE AS SPECAT FOR SECDEF

E. O. 11652 XGDSI

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: COMMENTS ON APRIL 3 MEETING

1. AT TODAY'S MEETING SEMENOV GAVE A LIST OF " PROBLEMS TO BE RESOLVED" IN THE FORM OF WHAT MIGHT BE INTERPRETED AS AN AGENDA FOR POINTS TO BE INCLUDED IN AN " UNDERSTANDING ON MORE COMPLETE MEASURES LIMITING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS," WHILE ALSO STRESSING " TIME WAS SHORT" AND " SHOULD BE USED TO ADVANTAGE." TAKEN IN CONTEXT OF STATEMENT AND SOME REMARKS BY SOVDEL FOLLOWING MEETING, IT APPEARS THAT THE TERM " UNDERSTANDING" WAS DELIBERATELY USED AS INDICATING THEY HAVE SOMETHING IN MIND IN NEAR FUTURE COVERING THESE POINTS IN SOMETHING LESS THAN A FORMAL WRITTEN AGREEMENT WHICH COULD PRESUMABLY BE SUBSEQUENTLY NEGOTIATED IN DETAIL.

2. FIRST FIVE ITEMS WERE: (1) AGREED LEVELS OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS; (2) QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE LIMITATIONS ON LAND- BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS, SLBM LAUNCHERS AND SLBM SUBMARINES; (3) AGREED LIMITATIONS WITH REGARD TO STRATEGIC AVIATION AND ITS ARMAMENT; (4) QUESTION OF WITHDRAWING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE NUCLEAR SYSTEMS AND LIQUIDATING THEIR CORRESPONDING BASES IN THIRD COUNTRIES; AND (5) SOLVING QUESTION OF QUALITATIVE LIMITATIONS WITH REGARD TO STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMAMENTS. THE LAST THREE ITEMS INVOLVE MODERNIZA-  
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PAGE 02 SALT T 00135 031936 Z

TION, SYSTEMS IN REPLACEMENT, R AND D AND OVERHAUL AND TESTING AND TRAINING LAUNCHERS DRAWN LARGELY FROM LANGUAGE OF ABM TREATY. (SEE FOLLOWING SEPTTEL SUMMARY FOR EXACT TEXT.)

3. IN INFORMAL CONVERSATIONS SOVDEL SOUGHT ESPECIALLY TO IMPRESS US WITH IMPORTANCE OF FIRST ITEM. BEST INTERPRETATION OF WHAT THEY WERE SAYING IS THAT SOVS ARE NOT CONTINUING THEIR INSISTENCE ON INCORPORATION OF THEIR INTERIM AGREEMENT LEVELS IN PERMANENT AGREEMENT BUT ARE WILLING TO START NEGOTIATING FROM THOSE LEVELS, "IN PARALLEL" WITH NEGOTIATIONS ON NON-CENTRAL SYSTEMS. GIVEN WHAT THEY MAINTAIN TO BE THE ASYMMETRIES IN OUR NON-CENTRAL SYSTEMS, WHAT THEY PRESUMABLY HAVE IN MIND IS TRADING OFF LIMITS ON BOMBERS AND THEIR ARMAMENT AND CONTROL OVER, AND HOPEFULLY REDUCTIONS IN, US FORWARD BASED SYSTEMS FOR SOME POSSIBLE AMELIORATION IN THE ASYMMETRIES IN ICBM, SLBM AND SUBMARINE LIMITATIONS PROVIDED BY THE INTERIM AGREEMENT. (TODAY TRUSOV TOLD ROWNY THAT THEY ESTIMATED 40 PERCENT OF OUR STRATEGIC FORCE WAS IN FBS.)

4. I WANT TO STRESS THAT FOREGOING IS SIMPLY OUR BEST GUESS AT THIS TIME OF SOVIET POSITION -- IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER IT IS VALID.

5. IT IS OF COURSE A LONG WAY FROM OUR POSITION ON ESSENTIAL EQUIVALENCE IN CENTRAL SYSTEMS. PERHAPS MY THURSDAY MEETING WITH SEMENOV MAY SHED SOME FURTHER LIGHT ON THEIR POSITION. IN ANY EVENT, MY EFFORTS IN PRIVATE CONVERSATION WITH HIM TODAY TO GET HIM TO SAY WHETHER THEY AGREED THAT OUR TASK WAS TO NEGOTIATE A NEW PERMANENT AGREEMENT ON ITS OWN MERITS RATHER THAN JUST ADDING ONTO THE INTERIM AGREEMENT WERE UNAVAILING. HE SIMPLY RETREATED INTO SAYING, "MOST OF YOUR QUESTIONS" WERE ANSWERED BY HIS STATEMENT TODAY.

6. AT FRIDAY'S MEETING I INTEND TO PURSUE THIS POINT FURTHER -- TRYING TO SUMMARIZE IN A NON-POLEMICAL FASHION MY UNDERSTANDING OF SOVIETS' POSITION COMPARED WITH OUR POSITION.  
JOHNSON

SECRET

\*\*\* Current Handling Restrictions \*\*\* EXDIS

\*\*\* Current Classification \*\*\* SECRET

## Message Attributes

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**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
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**DecapTION Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**DecapTION Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** garlanwa  
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**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
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**TAGS:** PARM  
**To:** SECSTATE WASHDC  
SS  
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